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Who could be an Oriental angel? Lou Jing, mixed heritage and the discourses of Chinese ethnicity

From *Asian Ethnicity* (accepted)

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Abstract

Lou Jing was born in Shanghai to a Chinese mother and an African American father. She never met her father as he left China before she was born, and so was brought her by her mother in a single parent family. In 2009 Lou Jing entered the Shanghai Dragon TV's talent show *Go Oriental Angel!* Lou's skin colour engendered heated debates among netizens that became polarized between comments of support and racist slurs against Lou and her mother. This study reveals how mixed heritage subverts the overlapping boundaries of gender, race and Chinese ethnicity, and online debates demonstrate the persistent influences of historical discourses and contemporary context in a rapidly globalizing China. The blogosphere has provided a forum for heated discussions of biopolitics, in which Chinese ethnic identity is continuously contested.

Keywords: racism, Chinese ethnic identity, internet, mixed heritage, mixed race, biopolitics

This is a competition to find the Oriental angel. What is a mixed race person doing here? (Yuke, 2 September, 2009, <http://q.sohu.com/forum/7/topic/45643538?pg=2>)

Lou Jing was born in Shanghai to a Chinese mother and an African American father. She never met her father as he left China before she was born, and so was brought her by her

mother in a single parent family. Lou Jing speaks Mandarin and Shanghainese and appears to be a typical young Chinese college student, the only apparent difference being the colour of her skin. While studying at the Shanghai Theater Academy in 2009, the 20-year-old entered the Shanghai television company Dragon TV's talent show *Go Oriental Angel!* and became one of five finalists from Shanghai. Lou Jing was ultimately eliminated from the contest. She was nicknamed 'Black Pearl' and 'Chocolate Girl' by the presenters on the show. Lou's skin colour became an issue among netizens (online communities) after a blog entitled 'Is it possible Lou Jing's father is Obama?' engendered heated debates between those in support of her and those who posted racist slurs directed at Lou and her mother Sun Min. Some of these blog posts stated that Lou's mother was already married to a Chinese man when she had an extra-marital affair, a claim that Lou Jing and her mother denied. A netizen faked an online 'announcement' by Lou Jing that included the declaration: 'I am a native Shanghainese'. Lou Jing counter-announced that she considered herself Chinese, not only Shanghainese. Sun Min was invited to appear on television with her daughter to answer the many questions from the curious public. Numerous netizens were outraged by the family's appearance in public and Lou was deemed a non-Chinese who had disgraced the nation.

The case also attracted the attention of Western media, which showed footage of Lou's appearance on the show, and interviews and related blogs were translated into English. As a result, online comments also came from outside China. The initial negative reaction to Lou Jing in the Chinese blogosphere generated numerous debates and positive support from both within China and abroad, the majority of the discussions covering three main topics, namely racism, gender politics in China and Chinese ethnic identity. This article uses online forum postings to gain an insight into attitudes towards people of mixed heritage in China that were not previously openly debated in public. Some of the initial online posts could be described as trolls.² A famous Western example of an offline troll who engendered debates of

race was Ali G, a ‘media personality’ created and played by the white British comic actor Sacha Baron Cohen. Cohen was accused of mocking black street culture, but was also recognized for ‘encouraging discussion about racial stereotypes’.³ More specific to the Chinese blogosphere is ‘Human Flesh Search Engine’ (HFS), a term referring to online searches conducted by internet users, often used to find the identity of individuals responsible for injustice or wrongdoing. HFS has been prevalent in China since the early 2000s.⁴ While there have been cases of harassment and mob-rule associated with HFS, the practice also provides a platform for on- and offline voluntary activities, leading to the conclusion by a research team that ‘it is a significant Web application drawing worldwide attention and [...] it has strong and unique cultural root’.⁵ In this case, online trolls effectively solicited a wide range of responses in the blogosphere, in Chinese and English, from within China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the Chinese diaspora and Western media, all providing valuable source materials for analysis of the subject areas that this article has identified.

Through analysis of the discourses circulated in the blogosphere surrounding the Lou Jing case, this study will consider the conceptions of mixed heritage in China. Discourse, according to Michel Foucault, refers to ‘a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment [...] Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language’.⁶ This study aims to consider how mixed heritage engenders discussion of Chinese ethnicities by examining a range of posts and comments from different perspectives. Through the prism of race, gender and ethnicity, the commentaries on the internet also illustrate the broader historical and contemporary discourses on Chinese ethnicities, as well as reflect upon the changing roles of a globalizing China. In these ways, the case of Lou Jing interrogates Chinese ethnic identity as discursive constructions and speaks to the overriding research questions of this special issue.

Methodology

This case study is built through content analysis of written, verbal and visual texts as discourses, ‘attempting to understand how participants constitute a world in the course of their linguistic interaction’.⁷ Discourse-as-practice is something produced, circulated, distributed and consumed in society, and in this case the netizens exercised individual power and participated in making themselves subjects through discursive practices. Foucault explains that the subject is made within discourse: ‘[h]uman beings are made subjects’ and ‘it is a form of power which makes individuals subjects’.⁸ Norman Fairclough’s conception of discourse differs from Foucault’s. Fairclough is the prime exponent of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), discourse-as-text, that is, the linguistic features and organization of the actual instances of discourse.⁹ CDA has been used as a linguistic, analytical approach to discourses even though it is acknowledged by critical discourse analysts that ‘as a medium for the social construction of meaning, discourse is never solely linguistic’.¹⁰ While this article acknowledges the cognitive processes which are involved in the production and comprehension of discourse, it focuses on the structures, strategies and functions of text, that is, the context.¹¹ This approach allows me to discover the deeper meanings of these texts and situate them within the particular society and culture.

The current study is the result of analysis of over 100 web sites discovered by searching for instances of the Chinese terms and their English translations: ‘Lou Jing’, ‘Eurasian’, ‘mixed race, China’ and ‘*hunxueer*’ (literally, mixed-blood children, the Chinese term for someone of mixed heritage). These pages include blogs and netizens’ responses, reports, online forums, interviews and online newspaper articles. All translations from Chinese to English are my own unless otherwise stated. I left original grammatical errors, so not to alter the intended meanings. After analysing the texts emerging from the internet

debates of Lou Jing's media appearance in 2009, I employ grounded theory to categorize the words, phrases and terms used, the results being organized into themes as follows.

The discourse of ethnicity

On 30 August 2009, a netizen pretending to be Lou Jing posted an announcement on KDS (Shanghainese BBS discussion forum, available on Chinahush, 1 September, 2009, <http://www.chinahush.com/2009/09/01/shanghai-black-girl-lou-jing/>):¹²

1. My father is an American, not African
2. I am a native Shanghainese
3. Parents' fault I should not be responsible for, I am innocent!
4. Solemnly protest against acts of racial discrimination by some of you, my skin colour should not be the target of attacks! I will retain the right to take legal actions!

Lou Jing said that she did not write the post, but it nevertheless set out how complex and challenging Lou's mixed heritage was in relation to established discursive boundaries. According to this netizen, while a black American heritage may be acceptable, an African one is problematic. Instead of asserting a Chinese or Han identity, the blogger refers to Lou Jing's regional identity. It asserts that the slur against Lou Jing was a case of racial discrimination. Furthermore, the announcement presents the conduct of the parents as problematic because they were assumed to have had an out-of-wedlock, inter-racial relationship. The writer then claims innocence on Lou Jing's behalf, emphasised by the mention of 'legal actions'. This false declaration therefore portrays Lou Jing as a wronged individual and provides evidence that my approach to the challenges of mixed heritage to an

essential, static view of ethnic identity is appropriate. The complex discourses are set out in this article under six intersecting themes: ethnicity, race, gender, historical and contemporary discourses and China's changing global position.

One of the primary texts is the video of Lou Jing and her mother's appearance on *Go Oriental Angel*!¹³ The online responses to Lou Jing's initial participation on the programme triggered a particularly emotive appearance of the mother and daughter. In this video, the references to her skin colour were evident when she was repeatedly called 'our chocolate girl' and 'black pearl'. While most other contestants and presenters wore blue and white, Lou Jing's bright yellow dress made her stand out, accentuating the dark skin colour. The presenter constructs a narrative through enunciations such as 'Lou Jing's chocolate skin reflects her sunny personality'. Then Lou Jing was seen in a photo-shoot, in which she was photographed in a cage, with a lemon-coloured dress against a dark and chocolate-coloured background, apparently denoting a wild 'African caged bird'. Referring to the portrait, the presenters said she looked like the Hollywood actress Halle Berry. Through colours, actions, manner, performers and presentation,¹⁴ the show's framing of Lou Jing has many connotative meanings, reflecting preconceived ideas and attitudes towards African and African American people. One of the presenters went on to state,

Twenty-year-old Lou Jing grew up in a single parent household. Her father was an African American. He didn't know that Lou Jing's mother had become pregnant and because of other reasons, left the country to go back to America. From that point on, without any other options, Lou Jing's mother raised Lou Jing on her own.

The presenter, though sympathetic, emphasized how the family's circumstances are out of the ordinary. Sun Min told the audiences that Lou Jing first asked her about her father aged sixteen. When she started crying, Lou Jing never broached the subject again. The

presenter however pressed Lou Jing about whether she wanted to know her real father, and she answered that she did not want to upset her mother. Both mother and daughter were in tears at this point. This public display of one family's complex history provided a trigger for online discourses to consider how mixed heritage destabilizes the conceptions of ethnicity, especially that of 'Han Chinese'.

The notion of *Hanzu* (Han ethnicity) as a cohesive body of the nation is a modern phenomenon that is now deeply inscribed in the Chinese collective imagination.¹⁵ The term *Zhonghua minzu* (Chinese nation), mostly referring to the Han ethnic group, emerged out of the anti-Manchu and anti-colonial contexts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁶ Ethnicity as a term only appeared in English dictionaries in the early 1970s and Rong Ma argues that it has 'culturalized' race.¹⁷ If it is supposed that the difference between race (the biological make-up) and ethnicity is chiefly about culture, then Lou Jing's mixed race identity destabilizes the concept of the Han ethnicity. Historically the assumed superiority of the civilized Han, as opposed to the barbarian minorities, can be reinterpreted as a cultural rather than racial distinction.¹⁸ In her television and web appearances, her Putonghua (Mandarin) and Shanghaiese were greatly emphasized. Lou's command of both the 'common' Chinese language and a regional dialect places her culturally a Han Chinese while her skin colour suggests that she 'should' be a cultural Other, a *yizu* (alien race). Many of the online discourses on Lou Jing illustrate the debates on ethnicity through the lens of cultural differences. So, why did some netizens reject the possibility that Lou Jing is Chinese?¹⁹ This blog post illustrates the prevailing discourses of a static Han ethnicity:

We Chinese are Chinese culturally, legally, AND by blood. And we are rightfully proud of it. Therefore, it should hardly be surprising that the Chinese public is deeply disturbed by this conceited, shallow, and shameless black half-Chinese [...] A 'black Oriental angel' would be a contradictory term. One can either be an Oriental, or have black skin. Those are not

compatible attributes. (Roadblock, 21 October 2009 in English,
<http://blog.foolsmountain.com/2009/10/21/lou-jing-racism-gone-wild/>. #22)

While the first sentence of the post suggests a cultural category of being Chinese, the netizen emphasizes with the capitalized 'AND' that the Chinese subject is also about an official definition, biological unity and racial purity (through blood ties), therefore dismissing any possibility of a mixed race black-Chinese person. This is however contradicted by other netizens, as one wrote, 'Culturally, [Lou Jing] is just as Chinese as any "full-blooded" Chinese' (Henry [American-Chinese], 16 March 2011 in English, http://www.danwei.org/china_books/the_eurasian_face_1.php). Another response to Roadblock's post suggests that the idea of a pure Chinese race 'is a rehash of the Nazi doctrine of yesteryears, or White supremacist theory of today' (Buru, 22 October 2009 in English, www.blog.foolsmountain.com/2009/10/21/lou-jing-racism-gone-wild/#comment-51467).

These posters practised what Foucault discussed in his 1975-6 lecture series 'Society must be defended' in that biopower is invoked to establish a continuum of regime, especially 'in the elimination of the biological threat to and the improvement of the species of race' and evidenced by the rise of Nazism in Europe between the two World Wars.²⁰ The Chinese blogosphere showed that despite Lou Jing's Chinese Han cultural make-up and language skills, as she does not look Chinese, many netizens considered her an alien threat. Even though Lou Jing has the cultural knowledge and language abilities, her skin colour as a racial identifier dominates much of the discussion in the blogosphere. Lou's mixed heritage therefore highlights the discursive limits between race (as largely a biological category) and ethnicity (as a culturally inscribed group).

The discourse on race

The multiplicity of mixed race heritage challenges existing racial borders and redefines them, attested by seminal work describing the historical development in America.²¹ Consider the trajectory of biracial heritage in the USA: the negative discourse on mixed race people can be attributed to a long historical precedence; the one-drop rule of defining blackness stemmed from late seventeenth, early eighteenth century practice of blood-mixing in order to increase the number of slaves.²² Rape and extended concubinage between white males and black women also existed but their offspring had no legal status.²³ After the end of anti-miscegenation regulations in 1967, interracial marriage boomed in America though negative terminology, such as mongrel and half-caste, continued to be used to describe people of mixed heritage and children of interracial marriages were likely to be classified as black.²⁴ The terminology related to mixed heritage and the shift to multiculturalism represented the changing Western paradigms while the concepts being used in China denote the persistent influence of the earlier conceptualization of racial identity as something static. This is most notable in the notion of ‘mixed-blood children’, that denotes an essential and biological definition of race based on bloodline. The Chinese term *hunxueer* assumes that mixed race individuals pollute, alluding to the hyper/hypodescent method of determining race, and this discursive construction of race was present in many of the online discussions of this case.

David Gilbert suggests that mixed race individuals need to acquire ‘certain shades of skin tone, cultural knowledge [...] language abilities, and certain ancestral ties’ to be accepted by the majority population.²⁵ Lou Jing exemplifies mixed race individuals’ practice of empowerment by the assertion of her Chinese and Shanghainese self-identity. She has reported experiences of attention being drawn to her skin colour, such as the practice of ‘naming’ (by self or others) that plays a central part in the negotiation of her racial identity. In an interview for the Chinese website Netease, she tells the story that her classmates used to call her *Xiaohei* (Little Black), a term she did not regard as racial ‘because we are close,

normally middle school and high school classmates that are close to me and sit around me in class call me that. But they are weird, when they heard other people calling me that, they would say “Who told you to call her that? This is our exclusive name for her” (Chinahush, 15 September 2009. <http://www.chinahush.com/2009/09/15/netease-interview-with-shanghai-black-girl-lou-jing/>). What Lou Jing identifies here is how the naming of a race constitutes a discourse. In the case of her classmates and close friends, the nickname *Xiaohei* denotes a discursive boundary different from the same term used in the context of the racial slurs posted on the blogosphere in 2009. However, this self-determined discursive boundary is always precarious because of the assertion of racial purity by individuals who form the majority.²⁶ By definition their majority language dominates the prevailing discourse.

The racist attacks on the blogosphere began when a blog entitled ‘Could Lou Jing’s father be Obama?’ was published on Sohu, which also suggests that Lou could go to the USA where Obama had just been elected president.²⁷ While the blog post referenced Obama as a black role model, Lou Jing’s missing black father became a target of abuse, as an imagined dangerous foreign influence. Subsequent blogs on the subject attracted numerous remarks, many of which were derogatory,²⁸ naming Lou ‘Little Black Devil’ (*Xiaoheigui*), describing her skin colour as gross and ugly (*The Guardian*, 1 November 2009. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/nov/01/lou-jing-chinese-talent-show>). Several responses to Lou Jing’s own Sina blog also assert the essential racial make-up of the Chinese people (‘Have I done wrong?’ Accessed 3 February 2013, in Chinese, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_614bc29b0100f06r.html):

Bastard [*zazhong*], black skinned devil, go to America. Don’t contaminate Chinese genes.

In the process of protecting our country, don’t let the words of these national traitors [*hanjian zougou*, literally traitors to the Han people and running dogs] pull the wool over our eyes.

Don't be confused by charming blacks. Because if we let the blacks invade us, China will be destroyed by problems of race.

It is worth noting that words like bitch, *zougou* and bastard were used to emphasise an animal-human distinction, with netizens evoking tropes of race which were aligned with natural sciences (with reference to a 'Chinese gene pool'), as in the Foucauldian conceptualization of biopolitics.²⁹ The contamination of the 'Chinese gene' and the problems of race were major concerns in many of the blog posts:

We don't discriminate against Americans who stay in America. If they come to China, they should be discriminated. Only this will safeguard our genes, and ensure the safety of our Chinese race. (miaka9383, 23 October 2009 in English, <http://blog.foolsmountain.com/2009/10/21/lou-jing-racism-gone-wild/>)

These posts assert the purity of the nation defined by an essential Han race and the impending doom of foreign invasion once the floodgate against immigration is opened. Nonetheless, there were counter arguments and the recognition of the impurity of *Hanzu* contrary to the discursive majority; one poster stated, 'The so called pure Han had been reduced since Tang as the races began to mix [... Lou Jing] is Han' (Xingzou jiangjun, Accessed 16 January 2013 in Chinese, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTE3NTM2ODQw.html).

Ien Ang's discussion of the linguistic differences among the Chinese and Aihwa Ong's idea of flexible citizenship argue for 'flexible' ways to be Chinese.³⁰ Lou Jing is not only fluent in Putonghua and the Shanghai dialect, but also a Chinese citizen,³¹ so the fact that her 'bloodlines' disturbed many netizens indicates that a complex matrix of factors was at work. Lou Jing's self-representation focused on her cultural sameness, especially linguistic fluency, repeatedly stating in interviews that she is Chinese, born and raised in China, and a

native of Shanghai, ‘When I meet somebody for the first time, they'd often ask me how I can speak Chinese so well, and I tell them, “Because I'm a Chinese — of course I can speak my mother tongue well.” [...] I don't like to be treated differently’ (*Time*, Accessed 20 July 2013, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1925589,00.html#ixzz2J7Forwdp>). As she was eliminated from the final round of the contest, she said, ‘I think I'm the same as all the girls here, except for my skin colour. We share the same stage and the same dream. I've tried my best, so no matter what happens, I'll hold onto my dream’ (Youku, Accessed 20 August 2013, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTE3NTM2ODQw.html). In this appearance she wore a blue dress and was elevated to the right-hand platform on stage as she sang a parting song ‘Fools are the Same’ (*Shagua dou yiyang*), visually indicating that through this contest she had moved along the sameness-difference dichotomy to become more accepted or ‘assimilated’. This assertion of her identity as a cultural Chinese was supported by some netizens, including this poster:

I am a Han Chinese & I am appalled by the racist remarks made to this girl. She was born in China, she speaks Chinese, her mother is Chinese and regardless of her skin colour, she is a proud Chinese through and through [...] Your story will help educate the ignorant people of this world and no doubt inspire people to become more tolerant. (James, 14 November 2009 in English, in response to the blog ‘Lou Jing: the sad story of a black Chinese girl’, <http://african-chinese-guy.blogspot.ie/2009/09/lou-jing-sad-story-of-black-chinese.html> [Blogger-owner of the site identifies himself as Taiwanese-Liberian living in the USA])

By contrast to the negative responses, this positive support to Lou Jing, coming from ‘even a Han Chinese’, saw this as an opportunity for public debates on the blogosphere of the Chinese race and tolerance, responding to those who felt the need to exercise biopower to defend the nation.

The discourse on gender

Although mostly about Lou's skin colour and the 'mixing of bloods', many of the online postings targeted her mother's status as a single parent having had a child out of wedlock, which can be seen as evidence that mixed heritage conjures fears of miscegenation.

A Tianya online forum post on 28 August 2009 about Lou Jing's 'black American father and Shanghainese mother' attracted 40,000 hits (Baikē, Accessed 22 July 2013 in Chinese, <http://www.baikē.com/wiki/%E5%A8%84%E5%A9%A7>). Much of the objection to Lou Jing's television appearance was in fact moral outrage, 'For vanity, her mother was used by a black man and even had a baby. Now the daughter has the guts to appear in public. This is not a respectable family' (Baikē, Accessed 22 July 2013, in Chinese, <http://www.baikē.com/wiki/%E5%A8%84%E5%A9%A7>). The traditional view in eighteenth and nineteenth century China was that 'intermarriage between a Chinese and a foreigner was inconceivable. It was considered shameful for the individual and for the country'.³² While the attitude towards miscegenation has somewhat relaxed, the fact that Lou Jing's mother appeared to have had a brief relationship with a black foreigner conjured longstanding prejudices towards mixed race relationships. Many netizens believed that Lou's mother was married to a Chinese man when she had the relationship with Lou's father, and so the target of online attacks was more the mother than Jing herself, for instance, 'Cheap is the word, in order to run with a foreigner, even do with black people' (Chinahush, 1 September 2009 in English, <http://www.chinahush.com/2009/09/01/shanghai-black-girl-lou-jing/>). Words like 'shameless', 'unwanted bastard' and 'cheap' were used frequently in the blogosphere in relation to Lou Jing.

The discourses of gender, ethnicity and race could not be discretely separated, and her mother and by association Lou Jing were discursively constructed as traitors to the Chinese

race from all three perspectives. One netizen responds to a Youku video of an interview with Lou Jing in which she stated that she was a born and bred Chinese by asserting, 'She seems like a good kid. But I cannot forgive her mother for committing adultery with a black devil (*heigui*). These cheap, black devils, do not come and corrupt our noble and great Chinese (*xiaren* 夏人, as in *huaxia*) bloodline' (Youku, July 2012 in Chinese,

http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTE5MTA0MTA0.html). Although some online commentators fought back and defended Lou Jing and her mother, many of the netizens' attacks reflected a moral outrage compounded by issues of race and ethnicity. These discussions of gender attempt to delimit the discursive boundaries of heterosexual monogamy, and Lou Jing and her mother were constructed in these media discourses as subversions of sexual norms and a disgrace to the Chinese nation.

Historical discourses

From the above discussion, it can be argued that many historical discourses on gender, race and ethnicity continue to be deeply entrenched in China today, re-articulating the purity of the Han race which mixed race individuals and interracial relationships challenge. Much of the negative online discourse cited above echoed nineteenth century scientific dogma about race in the West, especially that of hereditary biology. Hence, mixed race individuals were called 'half-breed', 'half-caste' or 'mongrel', and they invoked fear of the Other and 'racial degeneration'.³³ The yellow peril, anti-Asian fears, felt in the West was also articulated to wider fears of uncontrolled female sexuality; 'Female sexuality is disavowed and miscegenation is represented as a threat to both nation and the greater White civilisation'.³⁴ Tropes of race also aligned with sciences as part of the emergence of Foucauldian biopolitics,

which explained state power and policies, most extremely expressed in the discourses of ‘alien diseases’, racial superiority, Eugenics and institutional racism.³⁵

The historical discourse of race in China was of a unified, single community, linked to the rise of imperial dynasties, as developed here:³⁶

Viewing ‘culturalism’ (or universalism) as a ‘Chinese culturalism’ is to see it not as a form of cultural consciousness per se, but rather to see culture – a specific culture of the imperial state and Confucian orthodoxy – as a criterion defining a community. Membership in this community was defined by participation in a ritual order that embodied allegiance to Chinese ideas and ethics centred around the Chinese emperor.

Connected to racial essentialism was the myth of Han as a superior racial group and the descendants of the Yellow Emperor, in contrary to ‘barbarians’ who could not be civilized.³⁷ Here lies the conflation of the historical conceptualizations of race with clearly defined, rigid boundaries and the twentieth century ethnic and cultural discourse which questioned the compatibility of different races. The kind of debates witnessed in the Chinese blogosphere following Lou Jing’s television appearance sought to insist on unchanging ‘clean lines between [racial] groups [that always remain] the same: to establish and maintain a social hierarchy in which the creators and enforcers of the system occupy a superior berth’.³⁸

Historically, racially mixed people’s existence served as a reminder of slavery and European/American military presence in Asia.³⁹ Eurasians in Asia were further associated with the presence of colonizers. During the nineteenth century, protected women in Hong Kong could be ‘acquired by and living with a foreigner’: liaisons that were generally considered immoral.⁴⁰ Among Tanka boat people in nineteenth century Hong Kong, some women offered sexual services to foreign sailors; ‘half-caste’ children were almost exclusively the result of these liaisons and their low status was closely related to the marginal

positions of their mothers, and the fact that they were ‘evidence of moral irregularity’.⁴¹ Now known for skills like cross-cultural understanding and linguistic multiplicity (see the next section), Eurasians in the past were conversely seen as the result of ‘marauding Western man and subjugated Eastern woman’.⁴² The children themselves lamented the deserting fathers and were marginal to the Chinese community and looked down upon by foreigners in Hong Kong, with a few exceptions like the successful businessman Sir Robert Hotung who often emphasized his Chinese heritage over and above his European background.⁴³ In a recent photography book on Eurasian identity, one of the photographed subjects, Liam Fitzpatrick, describes how both families opposed his parents’ marriage in 1962 and during the 1967 riots in Hong Kong, his Cantonese mother was called a foreigner’s whore.⁴⁴

The case of Lou Jing’s mother led to speculation regarding the precise circumstance of her birth as a continuation of these casual sexual affairs. The mother and daughter’s transgression led to the curious public expressing a ‘right to know’. Mixed race individuals challenge the fragile clean lines of race by their physical, cultural and ethnic ambiguity. The fear of the dark skin in this case was clear from some of the more venomous attacks on Lou Jing and her mother:

Whites and Asians are the evolved form of Africans who were evolved from Monkeys.

See, thats evolution.

So why would anyone want to turn back evolution by being with black person? and giving birth to a black person? Why does anyone want to go back to being monkeys again?

We should all evolve hence we have to eliminate all black people from our earth. They are an unevolved race.

STAY IN AFRICA YOU SICK DISEASE SPREADING WORMS!

YOU BROUGH AIDS FROM ANIMALS YOU NIGGAS.

YOU ARE FLITH AND SCUM. (BITCH, 6 August 2010 in English with original emphases,
<http://www.chinahush.com/2009/09/01/shanghai-black-girl-lou-jing/>)

Lou Jing's case demonstrated the persistent colour hierarchy in Chinese society, leading to one columnist (Raymond Zhou on *China Daily*) to comment that darkness of the skin was a continuation of the historical discrimination of lower class labourers,⁴⁵ also recognized here by a netizen, 'In PRC, dark skin is related to class issues as well as race issues, and the two are linked' (Anna123, 24 December 2009 in English, <http://www.bigwowo.com/2009/12/lou-jing/>). A response to the Youku video of an interview with Lou included many direct attacks on her black skin,

@hkh123: Black skin is so ugly. Do you want your descendants to have black skin? [...]

@My Motherland China: How dare you say 'born and bred' [...] Blacks are inferior. Those who come to China deserve to be 'discriminated'. China is not like America, a country of migrants. I am a Taiwanese in China, and glad that Taiwan is not like Guangzhou that does not control the numerous blacks there. I oppose foreigners mixing the 'wrong' blood!

(Shinnieburg, Accessed 15 August 2013 in Chinese,

http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTE5MTA0MTA0.html)

Contrary to the idea of the mixing of the 'wrong' bloods, many netizens recognized the crisis of 'Chineseness' expressed in this case:

Any identity crisis in the psyche of people of the Chinese nation is mostly the result of 2,000 years of assimilation into the Chinese (Han) culture and civilization. Chinese civilization was the draw for all the nomadic 'barbarian' types all around 'Chinese' dynastic boundaries.

(Bobby Chen, 9 November 2009 in English,

<http://blog.foolsmountain.com/2009/10/21/lou-jing-racism-gone-wild/>)

The poster goes on to describe how people within the boundaries of Chinese empires were ‘in a smorgasbord of amiable and adversarial relations with both Han and non-Han ruled dynasties’. These postings precisely illustrate William A. Callahan’s concept of China as the pessoptimist nation, in which the civilization-barbarian distinction (*huayi zhi bian*) is now manifested in national pride and national humiliation.⁴⁶ Lou Jing’s African-American heritage was considered by some as beyond assimilation. Through this case it is possible to see how historically entrenched ideas of race, purity of blood and ethno-centric nationalism collided, and the netizens reflected upon contemporary discourses of China’s place in the world, evoking biopolitics to explain the superiority of the *Han* race and its enduring influence on the Chinese national imagination.

Contemporary discourse

The online debates on Lou Jing’s case not only evoked historical discourses on race, ethnicity and the purity of *Hanzu*, they also referred to contemporary events and the underlying ethnic tensions in China today. The Chinese Communist Party views minority groups such as Mongol, Tibetan and Hui as ‘nationalities’, following the model of the Soviet Union.⁴⁷ Rong Ma suggests that the Chinese state had politicized ethnic relations, which on the one hand might promote the welfare of minority ethnic groups but on the other might lead to disunity and tensions, because the ‘political concessions of [the Chinese government] towards minority affairs has done nothing to resolve the tension among ethnic groups, but instead created a more solid base for future separatist movements’.⁴⁸ Although Lou Jing is not from a minority group and her official status is supposed to be Han, many netizens projected anxieties over ethnic tensions onto her. The timing of Lou Jing’s television appearance in August 2009 was crucial in that it followed the violent riots in Xinjiang, the Uyghur

Autonomous Region, in July. This is evident in comments such as this, rationalizing racism towards Lou Jing as a response prompted by ethnic tensions:

As a Han, I would not be surprised if I go into a heavily concentrated Uighur or Tibetan area and get denied service either, especially after race riots. This is exactly why I think there should be honest discussions about discrimination in China between Hans and minority groups. (The poster goes on to talk about the Uighur riots and the anti-Uighur sentiments of Han Chinese in big cities) (hzzz. 24 October 2009 in English, <http://blog.foolsmountain.com/2009/10/21/lou-jing-racism-gone-wild/>.)

Many posts made reference to the historical classification of races and the assertion of the inferiority of the ‘black population’, which signalled a national crisis prompted by immigration in China, a phenomenon new to the country since the Open Door policy.⁴⁹ Frank Pieke points out that it is impossible to quantify the ‘foreign floating population’ who are illegally in China, and immigration has been concentrated in the large metropolitan areas. Foreign populations are often discussed together with other serious urban problems like crime, drugs, violence, prostitution and unemployment, and China is now grappling with issues of immigrants’ entry, residence and employment as a destination country.⁵⁰ These responses from the Tianya forum reflect concepts from the Eugenic, hypodescent explanation of race that can be traced back to the early twentieth century and the netizens referred to their relevance to the state policies regarding citizenship and immigration in China today:

This is not racial discrimination. They really are of low intelligence, an inferior race. If they do not come to harm China, pollute our blood, we don’t care. Can you accept these dirty, black devils with low intelligence coming to China to pollute our blood? If you are Chinese, you definitely cannot. (Sanbao Roulin Zhongqing Ju, 24 June 2012 in Chinese, <http://bbs.tianya.cn/post-develop-1027502-1.shtml>. [Poster identified as male from Hong Kong])

Chinese government please cancel the Han identity of people like Ding Hui and Lou Jing, repatriate them to the black race, and return them to America. Consider that black population is the highest in the world, we must impose birth control. (myhongcong, 24 June 2012 in Chinese, <http://bbs.tianya.cn/post-worldlook-499023-1.shtml>. [Poster identified himself as male from Taiwan])

These posts were prompted by the increase in immigration and demonstrated fears of ‘undesirable’ consequences such as being overwhelmed by some groups of migrants. Ding Hui (b.1989), an African Chinese from Hangzhou and also from a single mother household, joined the national volleyball team in 2009. He later quit his Zhejiang team to study in the USA, without giving reasons. Lou Jing and Ding Hui were referenced together in several reports from the West. For example, the British newspaper *The Observer* published an article suggesting Ding was barred from the national team because he was black, despite lacking evidence to support this view.⁵¹

Another element in the discourses surrounding Lou Jing’s case related to a persistent colour hierarchy, in particular, the contrasts between the discursive responses to Eurasians and Black-Asians or African-Chinese. Lou Jing’s case sharply contrasted with ‘Eurasian chic and cosmopolitanism’,⁵² often seen elsewhere in the Chinese mediasphere. Many netizens asked the question, ‘What if Lou Jing’s father had been white?’ (Foolsmountain, Accessed 20 July 2013, <http://blog.foolsmountain.com/2009/10/21/lou-jing-racism-gone-wild/>). Contrary to the historical fears of miscegenation of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Europe-Asian heritages have lately become ‘cosmo chic’, considered familiar, knowable, sophisticated and worldly.⁵³ While Eurasians were previously subjects of categorizations such as ‘mongrel’ and ‘half-caste’, these terms are now replaced with affirmative phrases. Academic research on mixed heritage emanated from the USA in the 1990s,⁵⁴ while in the UK it was only during the 2001 census that a category for ‘mixed race’ was created. ‘Today,

Eurasians are the flavor du jour [...] in the U.S., where mixed race citizens personify the American melting pot'.⁵⁵ Julie Matthews suggests that Eurasians are poster-children of 'good cosmopolitanism' and conjure global and Western commercial values while the idea that a brief liaison between a Chinese (married) woman and an African American temporary visitor is seemingly symptomatic of less desirable 'banal globalism',⁵⁶ too banal for many netizens.

Contemporary valorisation of Eurasians can be traced back to the theorizations of racial mixing during the late-Qing and early Republican periods in which the white and yellow races were seen as similar and superior compared to other races.⁵⁷ Writers and reformers including Kang Youwei thought that mixing of European and Chinese races would create a superior new race and a 'society based on beauty'. 'Inter-breeding' with darker races ('primitive and savage'), on the other hand, would lower the Chinese race (similar to anti-miscegenation of America), and this discourse of colour hierarchy 'entered the realm of popular culture and widespread stereotyping'.⁵⁸

Recently, a picture book entitled *The Eurasian Face* was published in Hong Kong (Blacksmith Books, 2011) with photographs and stories from a range of contributors, with a celebratory tone towards Hong Kong as a multiracial city. An *Asian Times* review states that it is a rather 'shallow' collection of 70 portraits; except in a few cases, negative attitudes and hatred expressed towards Eurasians, especially from the past, are not discussed. In the book the exoticism and beauty myth associated with Eurasians are perpetuated by some of the photographed subjects themselves:

I love being Eurasian. In my mind, Eurasians are exotic and beautiful and can have an effect on places and people. I think we have a presence. (Gillian Sadler nee Wong)⁵⁹

Furthermore, whiteness and Western facial features are desirable for many Chinese women as can be seen in the increasing number who are attracted to whitening cosmetics and

cosmetic surgeries.⁶⁰ As such, many Eurasians have become stars and celebrities in Asia. Hannah Beech claims that mixed race entertainers control 60% of the media industry in Asia, and Eurasian actresses, such as Maggie Q and Karen Mok, signify New Asia and ‘global citizenship’.⁶¹ This can also be viewed as a result of the influences of ‘neoliberal ideals on non-capitalist economies such as China’⁶² in that Western definitions of beauty dominate, reflected by the aesthetic desire of many Chinese women to have more Western physical features. The media, with its important revenue source from cosmetics and beauty products, propagate the Western ideal and suggest that these standards can be achieved through consumption, with the use of Eurasian models and actresses affirming these neoliberal ideals.

Lou’s dark skin therefore is negatively connoted against the colour hierarchy, demonstrated by the comments of many bloggers:

This is compounded by the prejudice that most Chinese people have against darker-skinned people; light/alabaster skin, especially in women, is considered more aristocratic. (Mason, 11 September 2009 in English, <http://www.chinahush.com/2009/09/01/shanghai-black-girl-lou-jing/>)

If Lou Jing were part white rather than part black, then there wouldn’t be much of a hoopla. The Eurasian/hapa-looking Asians are prized, and practically sought after. (Leigh204, 30 September 2009 in English, <http://abagond.wordpress.com/2009/09/29/lou-jing/>)⁶³

While Eurasians denote ‘cosmopolitanism’, Africa continues to represent under-development and backwardness. I think Lou Jing should not be condemned, she herself did nothing wrong, and if her father was an American white person, she probably would not be discriminated against. In the end, it is still racism. (Parlour Magazine, Accessed 14 July 2013 in English, <http://parlourmagazine.com/2009/09/a-new-kind-of-idol-lou-jing/>)

In the mainland Chinese media, there is no shortage of the curious interest in Eurasian models, actors and even stars' mixed race offspring.⁶⁴ Many netizens recognized that if Lou Jing had been of white and Chinese mixed heritage, she might not have attracted the same level of negative response. The whole episode began with the netizen named *Zainan Baba* (meaning 'home boy daddy') who on 10 August 2009 posted 'Is it possible that Lou Jing's father is Obama?' in the KDS Life online forum. Despite the reference to the first black American president, the poster ridiculed and derided Lou Jing. Others associated Lou Jing with black role models who were all American; for instance, she was compared to Halle Berry by the presenters during the talent contest. There was evidence that some netizens recognized that Lou Jing could be the embodiment of post-colonial hybridity, inhabiting 'in-between' spaces,⁶⁵ while other netizens interpreted her mixed heritage as impurity of race, rather than a role model of beauty and cosmopolitan chic. Lou Jing is of the 'wrong' kind of hybridity. Just as Asian media is full of Eurasian models and actresses, Lou Jing's television appearance initiated the most heated online debates of mixed heritage in globalizing China, so it can be argued that the popular reception of her was indeed skin-deep, as she recognized herself:

Because some of the netizens think I do not meet the aesthetic needs of the Chinese public.

And being a host is the most direct way to present images to the public. It is possible some people will like me and some people don't, for those who do not like me, I need to spend

more effort than other hosts to gain their recognition. (Netease interview, 15 September 2009.

<http://www.chinahush.com/2009/09/15/netease-interview-with-shanghai-black-girl-lou-jing/>)

The mixed responses to Lou Jing on the internet demonstrate that there were netizens who insisted on historical conceptions of race and ethnicity while others showed how these discourses in China had changed. The lack of support for Lou Jing in Mainland China, alongside some netizens from Hong Kong and Taiwan, suggests that a black Chinese public

figure could not compete with the Eurasian actors and models so revered in the Asian media and she was seen as a reminder of the ethnic tensions existent in contemporary China.

The global context

The commentaries on Lou Jing within the blogosphere reflected the debate of China's globalizing role. While China has become Africa's major trading partner,⁶⁶ which has attracted criticism from Western media sources, the increasing number of Africans in China has become associated with negative connotations such as crimes and HIV/AIDS in the Chinese media.⁶⁷ Johanna Hood suggests that media representations associating HIV/AIDS with Africa and Africans supposed a lack of socio-moral and economic development, and this conception has contributed to the extreme disgust expressed by some netizens, even though Lou's father is not African. While ethnic and cultural differences seemed to be acceptable by some netizens, their discussion often turned to the issue of migration, 'The superiority of Chinese culture lies in our tolerance for skin colours and races. Conversely, we must strictly control the standard of immigrants to ensure their quality' (Gragragragrandfather, Accessed 2 October 2013, in Chinese, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTE3NTM2ODQw.html). The heated debates illustrated a broader discourse of China's globalizing role and the fragile, constructed Chineseness, an assertion of 'bottom-up grassroots nationalism'.⁶⁸ As media commentator and author Hung Huang wrote on her blog,

The so-called cultural identity is the value of a racial group. If we do not learn from how our race (*minzu*) rejects weaker, marginalized groups, our culture will forever remain in a state criticized by Bo Yang in *The Ugly Chinaman*. (Accessed 20 July 2013 in Chinese, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_476bdd0a0100ex3f.html)⁶⁹

Lou Jing's mixed heritage reminded the Chinese public of the result of the opening up of the nation. Social trends such as mixed race marriages in China are inevitable as the

country has now become a migration destination.⁷⁰ Many netizens asked if China would follow the way of America to become a multi-ethnic nation. The positive outcome of the case can be seen in that online debates such as this show optimism for a ‘less ignorant’ Chinese population:

Maybe this is China’s equivalent of the late ’50s/early’60s in the USA? Because China is 90% Han, the change will probably take longer but as Chinese people travel more, meet different cultures and become more worldly and sophisticated, I expect that their culture will also develop to the point that racism isn’t tolerated in respectable circles. It just takes time. (Steve, 21 October 2009 in English. <http://blog.foolsmountain.com/2009/10/21/lou-jing-racism-gone-wild/>)

The discussion of Chinese ethnicity therefore came at a time when the people of the PRC re-considered who they were in the age of globalism. In particular, as China is chasing the USA as the second nation, many netizens referred to America as model of ‘good’ race relations to China, and this would be a sign of a truly great nation:

As a woman of pure Han Chinese ancestry, I am ashamed that there are such ignorant Chinese people out there [...] If I were Lou Jing and someone commented that they think I am President Obama’s child, I would consider it a complement to be thought of as the child of one of the most powerful men on earth. The only way China can become a truly powerful nation is if the best of all races are welcomed just like the United States, where people of all races consider themselves American. (Annie Huang, 25 September 2009 in English, <http://www.chinahush.com/2009/09/01/shanghai-black-girl-lou-jing/>)

Indeed, some online commentators suggested that she was a representative of the new China as an emerging global power:

She is a beautiful human being [...] she sounds well-adjusted [...] smart and pretty. Smarter than many of the people who are making racist remarks about her [...] Given the re-emergence of China in the global stage, your unique quality will make you a great image to project to world a new 21st century China [...] a confident, inclusive and kind global power. (Fw360, Accessed 16 January 2013 in Chinese, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTE3NTM2ODQw.html)

The discourse shows strong support to the ‘peaceful rise’ of China advocated by the Communist Party leaders, and Lou Jing should be seen as a good cosmopolitan, just like her Eurasian counterparts. The ‘mixing of good bloods’, a legacy from the early twentieth century reformists, seemed to have stayed as one poster optimistically refers to miscegenation as a positive effect of globalization:

The world develops as a result of social contacts. Have you seen races that do not interact with others develop? Mixing is a global trend. In a future world where the majority of people have Han heritage, I think the world will be even friendlier towards China. (Qiangqiuke, Accessed 16 January 2013 in Chinese, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTE3NTM2ODQw.html)

It was impossible to discern whether these positive comments emanated from the more liberal sections of the PRC population or netizens from outside of China. Despite the fears of the Other and the crisis of ethnic tensions and problems of increasing immigration, someone of a mixed heritage like Lou Jing symbolizes for many the ‘peaceful rise’ of China in a globalized world.

Conclusion

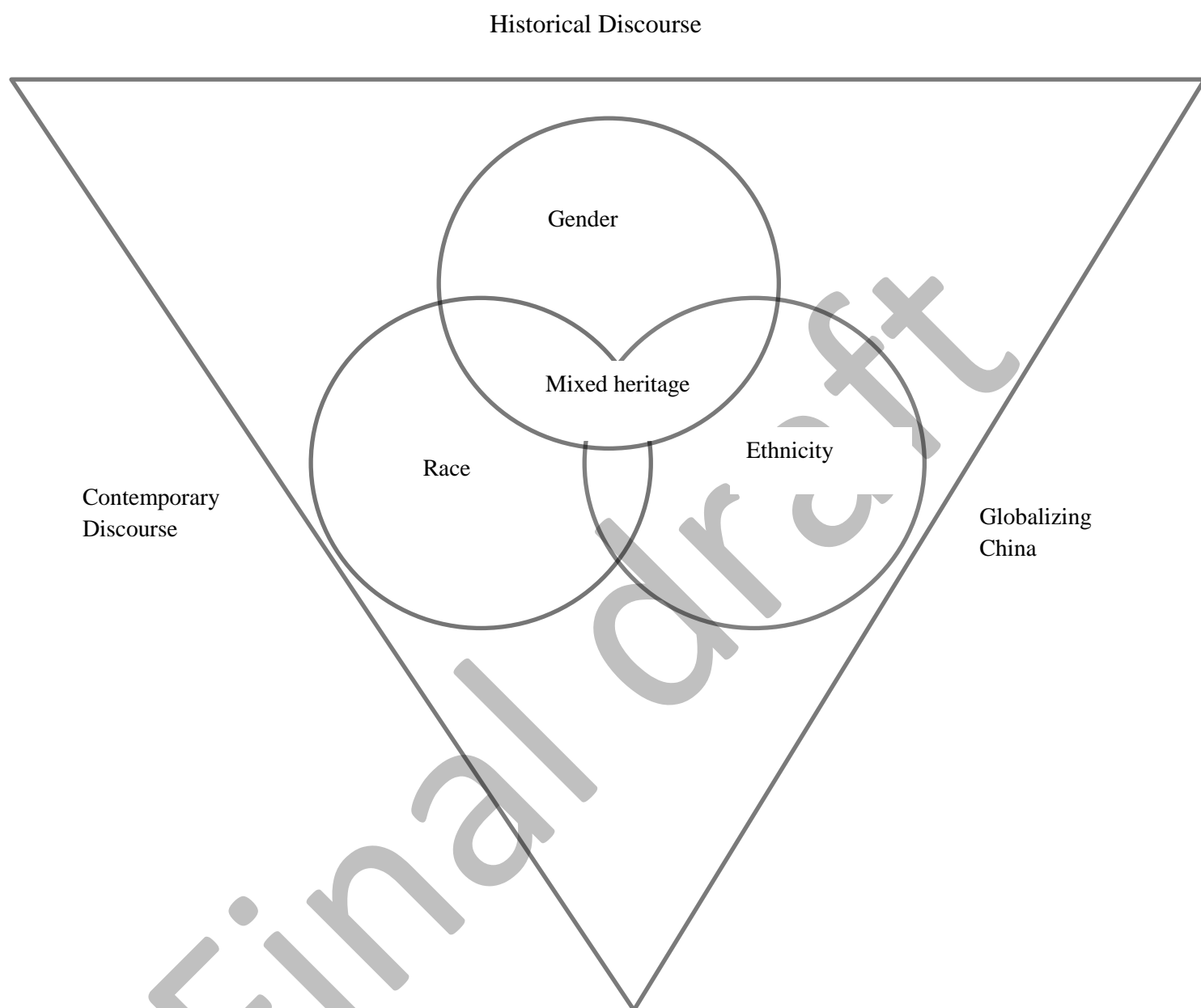
Mixed race individuals inhabit, experience, negotiate and reconstruct the borderland between races.⁷¹ This heated online debate in China signalled a changing society gradually realizing

the shifting racial, ethnic and gender boundaries among them. The case study helps us to re-evaluate the concept of the Han race and the continuing discourses on the tension between biological and cultural differences, with many netizens recognizing the changes brought about by China's opening up and globalization. Although the whole episode began with the trolling of Lou Jing and her family, the range of voices and opinions that it engendered subsequently merits scholarly discussion. As Chilton suggests, political discourse can be about cooperation and conflicts, and language has the function of indicating to members of a group what is useful and harmful, good and evil, justice and injustice.⁷² The case of Lou Jing demonstrates that these dichotomies are ever present and exist in and beyond the issues of ethnicity and race.

Within the scope of the research paper, I have focused on the content analysis of the excerpts. A more detailed analysis of linguistic practices, especially of the original Chinese texts, should contribute to a critical discourse of the power relationships reflected by the specific enunciations, as well as add to the analysis contained herein. Such an approach to cases of power abuse and inequality will be more aligned to Critical Discourse Studies.⁷³ It might be fruitful also to consider in detail the subtle differences among the netizens, between those who wrote in Chinese and in English; between those from Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas Chinese, where distinctions could be made, and the diverse ways they responded to the case. Another approach to online discussions of this kind is to adopt a chronological enquiry of how a case develops overtime, when it becomes global and how the language changes.

[Figure 1 near here]

Figure 1



The figure above conceptualizes mixed heritage against the prevailing discourse of the purity of the Han race and the associated assertion of cultural sameness. Frank Dikötter chronicles the development of the understanding of race in modern China from culture to lineage, nation, species and class.⁷⁴ What becomes apparent in this case study of Lou Jing is that her mixed race identity intersects with all these discourses, and demonstrates the instability of the civilization-barbarian distinction that often leads to political distinctions made in dichotomies: domestic/foreign, China/west and pride/humiliation.⁷⁵ Hu Jintao's 'Eight Honors and Eight Shames' campaign in 2006 relied on such moral distinctions: 'the highest honor is loving the motherland, worst shame is harming the motherland',⁷⁶ and engendered a kind of patriotic education based on the distinction between national pride and national humiliation.⁷⁷ Lou Jing not only 'mixed the wrong bloods', her family history also prompted the refusal of miscegenation by the online public citing the persistent colour hierarchy. Lou's appearance in public was at the height of a national crisis of Chinese identity and ethnic tensions. It is against these complex backgrounds that Lou was judged, and this study attempts to disentangle the different elements of the discourses surrounding her case, which demonstrate the fragility of an essential conception of Chinese racial identity. This is a prime example of how debates about Chineseness reverted to the rejection of physical difference, in order to construct an essential Chinese identity in the blogosphere that functions as a contested forum of biopolitics. The study reveals how the case of Lou Jing subverts the overlapping boundaries of gender, race and Chinese ethnicity, while online debates on mixed Chinese-black heritage expose the persistent influences of historical and contemporary discourses in a rapidly globalizing China. In the meantime, the netizens rearticulated themselves as Chinese subjects through exercising their biopower online.

Notes

1. Email: wf.leung@ucc.ie

2. The making of a deliberately offensive or provocative online posting with the aim of upsetting someone or eliciting an angry response from them (Oxford English Dictionary online).
3. Howells, "Is it Because I is Black?" 162.
4. Wang et al., "A Study of the Human Flesh Search Engine."
5. Ibid., 53.
6. Hall, "The West," 291.
7. Bertrand and Hughes, *Media Research Methods*, 94.
8. Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 208, 212.
9. Blommaert and Bulcaen, "Critical Discourse Analysis," 448.
10. Fairclough et al., "Introduction," 5.
11. Van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Studies," 65-6.
12. Chinahush is an American website, with translations of posts from selected Chinese websites, blogs and BBS sites.
13. Shanghaiist, 3 September, 2009,
http://shanghaiist.com/2009/09/03/videos_chocolate_girl_lou_jing_on_o_1.php.
14. van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*, 104-5. Even a scholarly debate on Lou Jing's claim to Chinese nationality describes her to have caramel complexion. Frazier and Zhang, "Ethnic Identity," 1-2. However, the article presents a more detailed discussion on the influences of global, especially American, black popular culture in relation to this case, 12.
15. Villard, "'Class', 'Race' and Language," 312.
16. Ibid.
17. Ma, "A New Perspective," 201.
18. Ibid., 203-4. Robeson Taj Frazier and Lin Zhang's recent article on Lou Jing views the case chiefly as an indication of Chinese cultural struggles over race and anti-black racism, while race is not clearly defined or distinguished from ethnicity.
19. Wang and Cao, "Lou Jing incident."
20. Macey, "Rethinking Biopolitics," 188-9.
21. Gilbert, "Interrogating Mixed Race," 68.
22. Root, "A Bill of Rights"; "Multiracial Asians".
23. Daniel, "Black and White Identity," 122-3.
24. Root, "A Bill of Rights"; Daniel, "Black and White Identity," 127.
25. Gilbert, "Interrogating Mixed Race," 68.
26. Zack, "Life After Race," 298.
27. The Lou Jing incident began in August 2009 and Obama visited China in November that year.
28. Examples of these comments include 'Fucked by a black. How come a zebra wasn't born...?'; 'Chinese girls, please have a little more self-respect'; 'those coming out of mixing yellow and black bloods are all truly ugly, a dirty feeling'. Cited in Parlour Magazine (a US based website), Accessed 30 January 2013,
<http://parlourmagazine.com/2009/09/a-new-kind-of-idol-lou-jing/>.
29. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*.
30. Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese*; Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*.

31. There were many supporters of Lou Jing making precisely this point in response to her blog (Accessed 2 February 2013 in Chinese, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_614bc29b0100ektk.html). See also 11 August 2009, <http://ent.joy.cn/video/673776.htm>, in which she shows off her Shanghainese with a tongue twister.
32. Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race*, 58.
33. Lo, "Miscegenation," 298.
34. Ibid., 300.
35. Macey, "Rethinking Biopolitics".
36. Duara, "On Theories of Nationalism," 134.
37. Gladney, *Dislocating China*, 117; Chow, "Imagining Boundaries".
38. Root, "A Bill of Rights," 5.
39. Ibid., 7.
40. Smith, "Protected Women," 221–3.
41. Ibid., 223–4.
42. Beech, "Eurasian Invasion".
43. Smith, "Protected Women," 232–3.
44. Ewing, "Book Review"; Fung, "The Eurasian Nation".
45. Zhou, "Seeing Red".
46. Callahan, *China*, chapter 1.
47. Ma, "A New perspective".
48. Ibid., 214.
49. Pieke, "Immigrant China".
50. Ibid., 56.
51. Vines, "China's Black Pop Idol". Ding claimed that the reason for his exit from the sport was that there was no future for the sport in China because of the low salaries and esteem of the sport.
52. Matthews, "Eurasian Persuasions".
53. Ibid., 43.
54. Gilbert, "Interrogating Mixed Race".
55. Beech, "Eurasian Invasion".
56. See Matthews, "Eurasian Persuasions," 49–50.
57. Teng, "Eurasian Hybridity," 158.
58. Ibid., 151, 156.
59. Cited in Liu, "The Eurasian Face".
60. Heyes and Jones, *Cosmetic Surgery*.
61. Beech, "Eurasian Invasion".
62. Heyes and Jones, *Cosmetic Surgery*, 14.
63. Hapa is a term used in Hawaii to refer to someone of mixed heritage.
64. See for example, Youku, original programme broadcasted in 2009, Accessed 15 July 2013, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XNzAyMzU0MDA=.html. Television programme for young adults, with Eurasian children paraded on the show with the tagline *Xiao xiao hunxueer jianzhi keai si le!* (Little mixed race children are so cute!).
65. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.
66. Lee et al, *China in Africa*.
67. Hood, "Distancing Disease".

68. Callahan, *China*. Frazier and Zhang make a similar point about ‘the role of the Internet as a significant contemporary space for power struggles over Chinese racial and national identity by everyday people’, “Ethnicity Identity,” 13.
69. Bo Yang argues that ‘Chinese people’s present state of ugliness is due to our own ignorance of the fact that we are ugly’. “The Ugly Chinaman”.
70. Wang, “Mixed Marriages”.
71. Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*.
72. Chilton, *Analysing Political Discourse*.
73. Van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Studies”.
74. Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race*.
75. Callahan, *China*.
76. Cited in *ibid.*, chapter 1.
77. *Ibid.*, 194.

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